L Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

539 in the Rupatylli channel at Duwara. She was covered with shame, and she slackened her speed and split herself up into five branches, namely, ka Umtong, ka Tarsan, ka Pantura, ka Kamarjani, and ka Duwara. Umiam did this so as to hide her shame from Umngot. This is how the river Rupatylli was formed at Duwara, to be a token that Umngot had been victorious in her contest with Umiew.*

ha khnang ha'n bih riew ia ka jingkhein barom ha khynnot ka Umngot. Kumta ea long ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara namar ka long ka dak ka jingiap ka Umngot ia ka Umiew.

The Kynji (Kynsi).

539 133 484 782

The Kynji river rises in the "Block Mountains," † and flows northwards into the Brahmaputra. It is the boundary between the country of the Syntengs and that of the Hadems. ‡ Any traveller who wishes to cross this river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for his journey, and any other food that he may have taken with him. If he does not do so, even if he crosses the river at an undetected point, he is liable to offer a sacrifice to the Kynji goddess. The people offer to her three fowls and three goats outside the village, i.e. one to the goddess herself, and the other two to her sons, U Shyngkrem and U Jait; and five fowls, that

Shaphang ka Kynji, U Shyngkrem and U Jait, ki Kot's sons ea.

Ka Kynji ka long ka wah ne ki lum laiong bad ka tiid da artiet ka ka wah Brahmaputra. Ka long ka pdil ia ka ri Syntong bad ka ri Hadem ha milingi. Uno-uno u nonglait jinglot uba kwah ban jam ia sano ka wah Bin-Kynji u don sum ka'n lynnd noh ia ka u khaw-synnong ka shilliang wah, bad ia ki kynja jinghon barah phat, te ym ea kiaw ia ka. Lada u'm da leh kumta, ka'n kiaw ea ka jaka ka ki'm sang rah ym hap jingsingih ka ka. Ki khun-ki-khajar ia ka ka lum lei u'mar, lei hiang kawei ia ka, [illegible] bad U Jait; bad sah u'mar ka ki'n ia him ongwiihu barah lei

* Both rivers, Umngot and Umiew, or Umiam, have their sources in or close to the Shillong Peak. The word "Rupatylli" signifies in Khasi a solid silver necklace of a peculiar shape. In order to appreciate this story rightly thoroughly, the reader ought to view the river "Rupatylli" from the heights of Laitkynsew, or Mahadeo, whence it is to be seen glistening to the eye like a veritable rupatylli or silver necklace.

† These mountains are the high hills which lie to the east of the Jowai Sub-Division, and which form part of the boundary line between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and North Cachar.

‡ The word Hadem is possibly a corruption of "Kukimia," the old name for North Cachar.

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they may all three feast together; this is in the case of one transgression only. But in the case of a man who has committed more than one, it is not possible to say how many goats and fowls must be sacrificed, because the river often demands offerings on account of a man's parents or relatives having crossed the river at some time or other.

From the time of the old Siem to that of U Ram Singh Siem, they used to sacrifice to this great goddess two persons during the months of November and December at the time of offering a sacrifice at Jaintiapur. After a ceremony performed by the Brahmins at Jaintiapur, the victims are led to the Mawshai (Shaggyung) market, where they are allowed to take and eat anything they like. After that they conduct them to Sumer; but some say that the stone on which the victims are beheaded is situated below the village of Ka Iew Kai, near a stream which falls into the Lyoh, and where there is a *mawlyntiar* (flat table-stone) close to that sacred river.

They place the victims on that stone, where the executioner beheads them with a terrible sword. After that they throw the dead bodies and their heads into the river. But in the days of U Markhaiin (U Raj Indro Singh)—who was our contemporary," they have ceased to do so out of fear of the East India Company. The victims are known by the name of," Mugha Khara."

At that time all the people of the territory of the twelve dolois were in a great state of agut shi khiin shi kynio, kata ka long baba long tang kawei ka lait, hinei haba ba'n long kaiba shong ka lait a briew lai-lai, ngam tip ba'n long katno biang katno sur ramar haba dei ka'n wan pat ka jingkhia ramar ba la klan ia ka ca khlieh lane na kyjat da u kylla u kypa kano-kano ka ing lane kano-kano ka tur. Nalih ki angi ki Siem Tyrmon haduh ki angi U Siem Singh Siem ia kane ka khi lah ka kynai u lei ba khraw ki khia da ki briew ar-ngit shi snem shi snem hamar a kynai ha ki puja ne ar ngith ha Jaintiapur, tera, hamar a 'nii wieng had a 'nii nohprah. Tuda ki la khia ha Jaintiapur da ki Dramon, ki ca ia lam ia ki sha ka iew Mawshai ne ka iew Shaggyung ha ki'n him shiwa haiba mon ne kata ka iew. Nangta pat sha Sumer, hinei pat ki ong ha u mew ha ki khmi khlieh ia ki Mugs Khara u don harum ka shnong lawkai hajan kawei ha wah kaba tiid sha ka Kogli—sha ka jaka ha don ka mew kyntiar lawad kata ka wah kini Kumta ki sa kyntiw haiar kata ka mew kyntiar ia ki; nangta pat wan sa u nongkhraw khlieh had ka wait ha Lahyrkhei, u khmi ia ki hangta. Hadin kata ki sa shat ia ki mat-ing sha um had ia ki khlieh jong ki rah da. Hinei ha ki angi U Markhaiin pat U Raj Indro Singh sha ka Kayjong ngi nyuna ym long shih ; unta ramar ha u tiang ia ka Kompani. Ia kine ki briew ha ki khia ki khat kyrteng ia ki ki Mugs Khara.

Myntata ki kyniew shi khadar dolui angew tiang, ki ong ha ki nongkem ki da kylli shiwa ia ka jaid, ki da lah ia kala kam ki kyn mut ha'n lah

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How Do the People Accept These Facts?

a) The Fear among the People

172 176 A great fear of these murderers who are in the service of the thlen permeates the whole life of the Khasi; this feeling is still especially strong in the kingdoms of Cherra, Nyllien, and Nongkrem. Naturally they guard themselves well from people who are supposed to be in possession of a devil snake and they often do not even dare to speak their names out loud for fear that misfortune could befall them. Many of them are certainly known by the people; others are just guessed at. We tried very hard to get a photograph of such people who are considered to be thlen owners; but we met only with complete refusal from them. Their bad consciences probably made them fearful. I was able to photograph the house of a woman thlen worshipper in Mawsrai, several [12] miles away from Cherra. In contrast to most of the Khasi huts, indications of wealth were evident on the outside, since the [128] hut was covered with tin. In spite of all my pleas the woman could not be prevailed upon to have herself photographed. Such an idea frightened her so that she cried out loud: "O, we are investigated so much!"

172 174 At night a Khasi does not readily trust himself alone outside of his hut. If he is overtaken by darkness on the way home, he may be seen hurrying towards his home, singing or calling in a loud voice from time to time to give himself courage. A single man, even if he does not have to go far from his hut to work is not likely to go without his big knife — ka wait — under his arm to protect himself against all possible attacks. The people usually go together (in groups)

682 on the way to or from more distant markets.
• 684 When they go to the even bigger markets which are several days' journey away, they only go to the markets where they have good friends along the way, where they can spend the night. Even the missionary has to endure this general feeling of fear. For example, if he has to send something from one place to another which one man could easily carry; or if he is on a journey when he might like to send on his small amount of luggage, his laundry, and food. Even if the place is only a day distant, it is not possible for him to hire one man for such an errand. There is nothing for him to do other than to hire two porters and naturally also to pay them, or to wait until a group of market people are going along the same way, to whom a single man can attach himself. If you criticize the people for the foolishness of their behavior or the inconvenience it causes, their simple answer is: "I am afraid of the nongshon noh" (killers).

682 On the other hand the people defend themselves
776 against such criminals. According to ancient Khasi justice, the killing of such a nongshoh noh is not considered murder and is not punished by death. Whoever has killed a nonshoh noh does not need to do more than he who kills a robber, namely to give 5 rupees (7 gold marks) and a pig to the S'iem (king). In the kingdom of Nongkrem the official lyngdoh has the right to confiscate all the property of those persons who are convicted for harboring an evil spirit — jingbih — in their house. The lyngdohs can keep the objects of value for themselves, while the house, including contents, is burned down. At the same time the people take justice into their own hands. In the year 1909 one of these murderers in the service of the devil snake was caught in the act in Nongkrem. Without more ado his nose was cut off and he was let go with the mark of Cain.

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The Market Life of the Khasi
(with ten original photographs by the author)
by P.W. Stegmiller, S.V.D., Munich

[101] The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a [161] tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their [484] neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided accord-

1. P.W. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. [illegible] ff.

ing to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

445 782 How much the Khasi depend on a thriving market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kpu and ryusi (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

literatur) and (u rynkal atung, botanical name: gigatone orja); corn (u 'riaukaum); pineapple (u ash trun); lemons (u ash ngndong); oranges (u ash nsantre); mangoes (u ash piang); melons (u petiau); breadfruit (u ash epu, botanical name: artocarpus incisa); kkasi carries (u ash jong, botanical name: prunus serrungiana); bananas (ka kait), pepper (u ash krit); chilis (u ash ngngwen); papayas (u ash kymbor, botanical name: carica papaya); a kind of wild potato (u ash jyrsia); cinnamon (ka sirim, botanical name: cinnamum zeasia); nutmeg (u jat phol); ginger (u 'siang); honey in honeycombs (ka ngap).

Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut trees, bamboo poles, bamboo-plaited lath lattice work, drift ore nature, spades for the fields (sumbin); kkasi knives (ka wait); [illegible] F.K. Schmidt-Pestacrift. Photo: P. Fr. Shagmüller. market women. They go in groups for fear of murderers (ulieng umare). [illegible] F.K. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Shagmüller. & woman, carrying bales, on the way to the market at Laitkynsaw. [illegible] F.K. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Shagmüller. going towards Laban to the market with potatoes. The "umrella" is placed between the bale and the burden. [illegible] F.K. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Shagmüller. on the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane. [illegible] F.K. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Shagmüller. kkasi traveling to the market in Jugnia. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ARE [illegible]

must also be sought out and hired at the 183
markets.

3. The [illegible] of the harvest

a) The transportation of harvests. The [illegible]
villagers of both sexes normally carry their [illegible]
crops to the market themselves. They form 183
smaller or larger groups and travel together. 184
The wares are carried on their backs. The 188
burden is packed according to its bulk or
content. Larger objects, such as bamboo
poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are
carried without any covering by means of a
forehead band plaited of rope grass or straw.
Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are
packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts,
pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are
carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets 185
are either pointed baskets which are round at 186
the top or square baskets, which narrow to a
point at the bottom but still are four feet
long in size. The latter baskets are usually
made with a cover, which, like the basket it-
self, is plaited and almost waterproof, so
that flour or salt can be transported in them
even during the rainy season. A round or
oval object shaped like a shield, which in
case of rain is used as an umbrella (see text)
and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted
between the back and the burden (jingkit).
On the one hand this object has the purpose of [illegible]
ameliorating the pressure of the burden and
on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy
weather to serve as an umbrella when it is
held as a shield against the rain by hand.

All reports to the weight which the 182
Ifugao carry to market, the men carry about
100 and more pounds while the women seldom

982 laden themselves with more than 30 to 35 pounds.

• 474 Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark /they/ they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

[276] Betel nuts are chewed (a) all the way and

a- the length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the route.

963 b) The Market Place. It is not possible
361 to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place is [illegible] Also the one in

Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most natural to the Ehoei not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)[1] Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Ehoei imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

Nearly all the men at the market are armed. The reason for this lies in the fact that the people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nungahounoh), i.e., those who go out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil ennam. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ka wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

a) The Market Toll. All sellers who attend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are excepted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paisas, often even one anna (3--6--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned. The market tax collector reaches

as a historical past, different from that of the Khasi people, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat fossilized dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. The Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure deeper and to be less influenced by patrilineal predominance, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanistical religious observances and also some traces of social admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowai, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Khasi/Jaintia Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both the War-Khasi and War-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, as the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both War-groups have a somewhat peculiar cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hill massifs. Both War-groups live in the environment of luxurious tropical fruit and forest, sharply differentiated from the well-known plateau with its perennial winds and the forest, if solitary beauty of its highland heights, which forms the background of both the Khasi and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the War-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent community — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an interesting problem. The two War-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation of a variety of betel, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers, and on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or fields. The pan-leaf cultivation therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been cultivated until not long ago. The pan-leaf planting is said to be a recent part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, the contact between two places is not measured by the number of hours needed for walking, but by the number of betel-nut and pan-leaf portages, consumed on the way. Also the common boundaries among Khasi expresses the wish that no one of them may ever pass to the Garden of God. The pan-cultivation and the settlements of the War-people on pan-leaf cultivation in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impossible. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the War-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both War-Khasi and War-Jaintia women and men.

According to a traditional formula which I wrote among the Nongkhlaw clan at the Nongkrem village, the ancestors of the present War people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and some of the present big groups of pan-tree gardens may yet be held by their present (War-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nongkhlaw clan-member who dwelt two or three generations ago with the deity in U Syiaj was at